11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
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551 comes from ebéne *lancet*, yebéni *my lancet* (a hafted tooth of *Dasyprocta agouti*), and means literally *who released* (i.e. let blood) *from me*.

CONCLUSION

114 It will be apparent from the foregoing that the picture of Island Carib
174 society in early colonial days, left to us by the French missionary fathers of the seventeenth century, contains many gaps and ambiguities which it is now too late to fill in and elucidate.

The story of the Carib conquest of the islands as told to Breton by "the Captains of the Isle of Dominica" is doubtless true enough in outline; but it does not help to fix the date or causes of the invasion. Skulls might remain intact for a long time in a dry cave—even though it was near the sea; and women who "kept something of their language" for four hundred years after Columbus' discovery of the Caribees, may well have done so during as long a period before that event. On the other hand, the realistic description of the leader of the invading forces, and the tradition of former "kings" (probably a pre-Carib institution) point—albeit for purely psychological reasons—to a not far distant era. It may likewise be inferred that the Caribs' acquaintance with the islands, and their hatred of Arawak, island- and mainland-tribes alike, went much farther back than this last, successful invasion.[11]

174 That they did not bring Carib women from the mainland appears, not only in their own story, but in the descriptions of the marriage system obtaining among them toward the middle of the seventeenth century. Had they done so, it is more than likely that some hereditary distinctions and privileges would have resulted; but we are expressly told that the children even of captive women were in no way discriminated against. A roving and warlike people, the Caribs had
● [565] no use for hereditarily privileged classes; and while maintaining the general (Arawak?) custom of matrilocal, cross-cousin marriage, insured the strength of their own elected chiefs by making their and their sons' marriages patrilocal. Thus an Island Carib headman, or war-leader was able to take several wives without adding greatly to his own economic burden, and could count on the support of all his adult offspring and their spouses in the event of dearth, dispute, or warfare. Small wonder that men were willing to put up with some self-inflicted torture to prove themselves worthy of such a position!

174 That the Island Carib were and remained patripotestal cannot be doubted,
562 and is evident both from the ease with which they are said to have disposed of

11 Guiana folklore suggests that Arawak and Carib were originally one people who split over sexual taboos or on account of a portion of the females crossing with foreign stock.

C 101 the women's language. However, to make some distinction between themselves and the people of the mainland, they call the latter balouõouri, from the word balloud, which means mainland; thus a callinago of the mainland is distinguished in the same way as one would classify a Frenchman as a Parisian or a Langrois. We call those people of the mainland who are friends of our savages Gallybis [Galibis]—and call our savages Caraïbes [Caribs].

C 173 If you ask the latter why they separated from the mainlanders and moved to the islands, they can give no reason. However, they all say that their first father, Callinago, left the mainland with his family and settled in Dominica. There he had a long line of descendants, and the nephews of his nephews, with extreme cruelty, C [625] poisoned him. But he was changed into a fish of monstrous size, which they call Akaiouman and which is still very much alive in their river. At least this fable shows that they are descended from the people of the mainland. C P 174

Several of the French believe that there were earlier inhabitants of these islands whom the Caribs chased away. This belief is founded upon the fact (and it is even certain according to the savages) that in some of the islands there are still survivors of these people, who retreated to the mountains and who are white like the French and wear long beards. Monsieur d'Esnambuc, governor of Saint Christopher, assured Father Raymond [Breton] that there were some on Saint Christopher. The Caribs affirm [47] that there are some at Guadeloupe and that they dwell above the large river at Goyave and at Grande-Terre. It is certain that there are some at Dominica because they are often seen there. The first time Father Raymond was C [127 at Dominica in 1642, the Caribs had captured a man, a woman, and ● 56] a girl of these people by surprise. They killed and ate the man, and enslaved the woman and girl. Last year, on the same day Father Raymond arrived, the mountaineers had made a raid, burned a cabin, and carried off a few household goods.

C 173 Our Caribs, however, say in one of their trusted traditions that P 174 they killed the Allouagues, (first) inhabitants of the islands, (1)

1. Roman version: "Our Caribs... say... that they are the first inhabitants of the islands and that the people in the mountains... etc."

c 173 and that the people in the mountains are the slaves of the Allouagues
p 174 who fled to the mountains and bred there. The result is that now they
c [567] only rarely show mercy to male slaves, but rather they kill and eat
266] them. The reason they are white may be because of the cold.

c 142 Regarding their appearance, the Caribs are of good stature and well-
c [304] proportioned, strong, robust, usually fat, and healthy. They are not
at all deformed except that several are flat-nosed, because their
mothers flattened their foreheads and noses at birth. Their natural
c color is a very bronzed olive. They seem redder because of the
[302] annatto [rocou or urucu] they redden themselves with every day. They
all have black hair and cannot tolerate red or blond hair. Very few
of them are bald, and they make fun of those who are. They are no
c more thieving than the French, and even less so.

c 157 As for their temperament, they are all melancholic, sad, and
somber; and their faces show it. They rarely speak if not spoken to.
For savages they are not too stupid. They are curious about and very
skillful in the things they apply themselves to, such as making beds
and baskets, fishing, hunting, and shooting the bow and arrow. They
climb swiftly and nimbly, jump and [48] swim, and would undoubted-
ly be capable of greater things.

A young man who was a captive among them told them some story from the Holy Scripture; they questioned him about it and conceived doubts that were not without point.

They are rather generous among themselves and give each other what they have; in like fashion they ask freely. They do not act in this way with us, the French, because they give us nothing and are always asking for something and are not discouraged by a refusal.

They are not naturally cruel, except toward their enemies. They are dangerous when intoxicated and fight among themselves, but outside of that they are easy to get along with.

They are extremely lazy and would rather eat less and work less. They scarcely think of tomorrow and stock no provisions except manioc and sweet potatoes which they plant in season. Very often they find themselves short. They care for neither gold, silver, nor
c precious stones.

462 They have their work divided between the men and women. Their honor is offended if they are not esteemed for what they think they are. The men never touch the ordinary work of women, believing that they would degenerate.

302 soft and it could not be shaped in this way, they are supposed to be ugly. Both men and women let their hair grow long and tie it neatly [301] behind their head when they go out. In their drinking parties they wear long and beautiful feathers of the Aras bird or the Festu en Queue in their hair. They surround these feathers with a very handsome crown of other feathers. [92]

305 They women cut their hair upon the death of their husbands, and husbands cut their hair upon the death of their wives. The children cut their hair upon the death of their father or mother. The hair is cut for the period of a year. The slaves have their hair cut all the time and are never allowed to let their hair grow. [319] They have their hair cut to the neck which means they are in mourning. [458]

301 They climb along a cliff with a small ledge in order to catch the Festu en Queue, so called because it has only one feather at the tail, beautiful and long, which they stick into their hair and of which they are very proud. [88] To bind their hair they use a ribbon or braid which they make themselves with cotton thread and the thorn of a palmetto, which serves as a needle. This ribbon is very strong when it is completed and tied at the end. When it is slack at the end it frays. The ends are decorated with two tufts and over these are two thimbles which decorate and embellish them. [230]

302 A great insult which the women commonly say to their children is "wavy hair," because of the trouble they have when they comb their hair for them. To avoid difficulty they use oils throughout the youth of their children to make the hair thicker and to allow the comb to pass more easily through it. I have seen a mother who took fresh manioc flour with which she covered the head of a child and let it dry and become sticky. I don't know if this helped. [155]

They take a sliver out of a stem of a certain plant which they bend to shave the temples of the head and the eyelashes after having dampened them with manioc water. [366]

301 The ornaments of the men are of caracoli, as well as garters and bracelets of glass beads four fingers wide which they wear on their wrists and at the biceps of the arm. They also wear thimbles, small bells, and necklaces of jaguar teeth. When they catch cats, they never spare them but take their teeth and make smaller necklaces out of them. The women also appreciate green stones, caracoli, and glass beads,

301 hair. It reminds one of a French comb. [180] They wear a well-made cap of reeds around which feathers are attached in the shape of a crown. It is most proper that these beautiful feathers are arranged here. [310, 401] The Caribs wear a necklace made from clear and almost transparent fish bones. This ornament is almost always worn with a caracoli ornament. [268] The women wear a large sash made like a horse's barb when they go to feasts, and from the sash hang tassels and little bells which make a sound which harmonizes with their dancing. [267] The women wear imitation green stones as ornaments but they do not prize them greatly. [346]

291 There is a cotton band four fingers wide which covers the shameful parts and is called nioüaicouli or in the women's language nórere. The Island Caribs never wear them and go entirely naked. [23] They have a small double cap made of oüalloman reed with cachibou leaves between the two layers. They are used by some of Caribs at sea, or to protect their heads during showers, or against the rigors of the sun. They do not often wear them. [285]

301 The leggings of the women are called echépoulou. They put them on their own legs, and they are so firmly tightened that they cause the calf of the leg to swell. When they paint their husbands red they always rub their hands on their leggings, so that they finally make them stiff. The leggings shrink when they become wet. To avoid this accident I have seen a girl walking on her two hands, which were stretched out behind her back, when she crossed a stream and her mother carried her two feet. The mother looked like a peddler pushing a wheelbarrow. At that time it amazed me because I did not know the cause of this mystery. The end of the legging extends to the ankle and is surrounded by a round edge which is pliable and does not hamper. The echépoulárou is the garter woven in the same way as the leggings which surrounds the upper part of the calf. The wives of the Caribs consider these leggings to be the most beautiful of their ornaments and the most unquestioned sign of their freedom. This is the reason why they never allow any slave woman to wear them. [197] The men do not have corns on the feet because they don't wear shoes. The women do not have corns on their feet because they don't wear shoes either, but they do have them around their ankles where the leggings end, because the leggings bind them strongly there. To get rid of these they take the second bark of the hamáca which they slip under their leggings and this cures them. [87]

595 The wife who is living with her husband during this month is obliged to prepare for him all the necessities. She makes bread for him and serves him as her master, painting him red and combing his hair every day. If he needs to travel she accompanies him everywhere during his trip. Since the love for their wives is unequal, the visits are sometimes not so evenly regulated. The husbands let whole years elapse without living with some of their wives. But if the wife is the daughter of a captain, he is interested in his child and threatens his son-in-law that he will take back his daughter and give her to someone else. If the wife is deceived and seduced by the wiles and promise of a lover and if her sin, done secretly, is discovered by her husband, he sometimes forgives his wife but never the wife's lover.

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586 They like to be as free to abandon their wives as they are to chose them, and this is the reason why they leave them whenever they please. The wives do not have the same right and need their husbands' consent. If a man marries a slave he has captured in war, she is included among his wives, but she always has her hair cut like that of a boy. Often when they have taken their pleasure they strike their captured women with a boutou—which is a kind of club and is their ordinary weapon—and by hitting them on the head send them to the next world as their only reward. Nevertheless, this is rather rare and we have seen several of them, especially old men, who tenderly loved their young slaves and the children of such, who enjoyed the same condition as the man's other children.

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146 There is no doubt at all that the female animals in our islands have a shorter gestation period than in Europe. I have neither noticed nor heard that women are affected in this way. However, the women are capable of having children earlier and they stop bearing children later than European women. If one looks into the register of Guadeloupe he will find the name of an old Carib woman called Madame, who is one hundred years old, and she has a daughter who is five years old. I have seen the woman and child. Her age is only conjectural, yet it is certain that she could not have been less than eighty years old when she gave birth to the child.

The Reverend Jesuit Father Chemel let me know several facts in letters which he did me the honor of writing, and which prove what now follows: He told me that at the time he lived in the islands a

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
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622 basis of their supposed wisdom and powers of endurance, and had to submit to such tests as fasting, drinking tobacco juice (a powerful emetic), stinging by wasps or ants, and scarification with agouti-tooth lancets.

Today the tribe as a whole elects a chief for his real or self-advertised ability to safeguard its interests and improve its lot. Unless deposed for gross injustice, he holds office for life; but no particular privileges attach to the position. Having no means of enforcing sanctions, his rule is limited to that of a paternal arbiter.[2]

[701] All records insist on the democratic character of Island Carib society. Only [593] those who so desired joined a war party. A father would not dream of telling a sixteen year old son to come fishing, but merely announce his own intention of going. "Orders are given to none but women and slaves," says Labat; and adds [562 that as far as he saw, both these classes were treated gently, and that many Caribs 567] had real affection for their wives. The statement that they were also very jealous, and might kill a woman suspected of infidelity without proof or further ado 684 rather loses significance when we learn that, in their cups, Caribs frequently [578] cracked the heads of men whom they considered to have injured them, and that in such cases, only the family of the victim, if they held the deed as unjustifiable, would take up the vendetta. Moreover, should a deceived husband not kill his wife immediately after discovering her guilt, not only must he not hark back to the subject later, but he was supposed to tolerate subsequent lapses provided they be with the same man (see term 20)! This latter, however, if challenged by the aggrieved husband, must bow his head and submit to being slashed with a knife, but was at liberty to return the challenge under the same conditions later. [855] Children were disciplined little, and then, more out of sporadic ill-humor than in their own interest.

593 Although it has faded somewhat in the course of the last three hundred years, the above picture is still recognizable in its outline. The father has final authority in the household, although he usually leaves the management of children

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648 2 As a consequence of the so-called "Carib War" of September 1930 (see Douglas Taylor,
622 *The Caribs of Dominica*, Anthropological Papers, no. 3, Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnol-
623 ogy, no. 119, pp. 103-159, 1938), the late chief Jolly John was "cashiered" by the local British
[666] authorities. A plebiscite by show of hands, held in the presence of the magistrate, resulted in his re-election by the Caribs, who continued to regard him as Chief until his death in 1942. Nevertheless, at the instigation of the local authorities, a council of five was appointed to replace the "office of chief," which was discontinued. Divided amongst themselves, its members have attempted little and accomplished less. The number of disputes settled by them without recourse to the magistrate is but a fraction of those successfully arbitrated formerly by the chief. Thus far, their only united effort has been directed toward urging the local authorities (who give them each a yearly "Christmas box" of $3) to raise their "pay"!

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
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called *budhai*. Basketry « satchels » slung by a cord or band from the shoulder (*bubúla*), and « travel-baskets » carried in canoes or used in the home for storage (*iamdli*), are closely woven in twill or wickerwork and in a variety of patterns. Moreover, each such basket consists of a « head » and a « bottom » which telescope into one another; each of these in turn being made in duplicate of an outer « skin » and an inner « member » between which layers of cachibou leaves (*Calathea lutea*) are arranged in such a way as to render the container waterproof.

For obvious reasons, stone implements, bone fish-hooks, and (later) baked-clay griddles and bows and arrows ceased to be made as soon as they could be replaced by their more efficient European equivalents. Nor have hammocks or pottery been regularly made for the past hundred years. But most of the basketry, dugout canoes, bromelia fishing-lines, wooden mortars and pestles and troughs, cane-presses, and calabash vassels are still made and used; while horticulture of the « slash and burn » variety is still carried on by means of the billhookshaped « cutlass » and the dibble or digging stick.

In their gardens or provision-grounds, which were (and are) always situated on the interior heights behind their homes, various kinds of manioc and sweet potatoes predominated. « Pumpkins » (*uauioma*) and maize were secondary crops. Plantains (*baléle*), an importation from the Old World, and possibly bananas (of a variety called *bakáku*), were cultivated soon after the Conquest, and soon became very popular, as also did one tropical American species of yam (*Dioscorea trifida*, Island-Carib *kásu*). The present-day predominance of other true yams from the Old World, oriental « dasheen » (chou de Chine), and New World tania (Island-Carib men *tdia*, women *udho*) is of recent date among the Indians of Dominica. With the exception of tania, these crops would seem to have been taken over from the Negroes in the last thirty or forty years in order to offset a decline in game, wild foodstuffs, and fish.

Island-Carib men continued to learn and use a special vocabulary of Cariban ancestry, which gradually dwindled until, a generation before the last native speaker of the Dominican dialect died (about 1920), this consisted of little more than a score of words, among which were those for « I » (m. *du*, w. *oubúia*), « thou » (m. *amáro*, w. *bubúia*), « man » (m. *uókeri*, w. *eiéri*), and « woman » (m. *uéri*, w. *hiaru*), employed in a language whose flexions, syntax, and other basic vocabulary were essentially Arawakan.

Until the present « Carib Reserve » was formed in 1903, the Indians were scattered in various settlements along the north, east, and south shores of Dominica. The reservation is situated near the middle of the windward coast, and comprises 3700 acres of rugged indented coastline to which spurs run down from a mountain chain running roughly north and south. By the middle of the seventeenth century, the Dominican Island-Carib had, according to du Tertre, acquired a few slaves; and it is probably with these that miscegenation started. Today the Reserve has about five hundred inhabitants, of whom not more than a fifth can reasonably be considered as « full-blooded » Amerindians.

Plant lore among the Carib may be roughly divided into three classes:

1. Species, wild or cultivated, which are or may be used for food or drink.

2. Species, wild or cultivated, which are or may be used for domestic purposes, including the making of dugouts and all implements and utensils pertaining to hunting, fishing, gardening, food gathering and preparation.